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AN OVERVIEW OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN KENYA

An overview of Non-formal Education Policies and Programmes in Kenya

Introduction

The concept of non-formal education in this paper is based on the definition by Coombs and Ahmed which states that non-formal education is "any organized systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children".[1/] The paper looks at the factors that have influenced the nature and trend of development of non-formal education programmes and the linkages between non-formal education and different educational and development programmes in Kenya.

The African Tradition

Traditional forms of education in most communities in Kenya tend to be predominantly informal[2/] with very short periods of organized learning that can be described as non-formal. Before the introduction of Western education, the individual received basic education through lullabies, songs, games and encouragement to immitate older people. As one grew older, education was made more challenging and delivered through stories, myths, riddles, puzzles and other informal activities intended to make one develop the power to think and to deal with problematic situations.[3/]

Organized and systematic educational activities were introduced as the youth prepared for more adult roles in life. Passage from childhood to adulthood was marked by special initiation ceremonies which often included periods of systematic instruction. Writing about the Kikuyu people, Jomo Kenyatta says that at the initiation ceremony a youth shed off childhood and was "born again" to become a warrior, a dandy, a dancer, an eater of good food and a full member of the community.[4/]

Initiation into adulthood started between the age of fifteen and twenty. In some ethnic groups like the Baluyia there was only one ceremony marking entry into adulthood while in other groups like the Kikuyu and the Masai complete adulthood was achieved through a number of spaced out ceremonies. The main ceremony which in most ethnic groups of Kenya included circumcision for men and clitoridectomy for women lasted between six months and one year.

1/ Coombs, P.H. and Ahmed, M Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-formal Education can Help, a World Bank Research Publication, the John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974, p. 8

2/ Ibid Informal education is defined by Coombs and Ahmed as "The lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment, at home, at work, at play"

3/ Kenyatta, Jomo Facing Mount Kenya, Secker and Warburg, London, 1961, pp. 98-130

4/ Ibid

The physical ordeal of circumcision and clitoridectomy was only a small part of a longer process of education and training covering public morality and ettiquet; proper relationships between different age groups and sexes; the role of the individual in the age group and the entire community; the division of labour between different age groups as well as between men and women; and the correct interpretation of the laws, norms and customs of the community. In warlike communities, the first initiation ceremony was also preparation for military service and enrolment into community defence form.

The initiated youths entered a permanent relationship and mutual respect as members of one age group. The age group served as a historical landmark in the community. Kenyatta says that initiation and the attendant age group system had "enormous educational, social, moral and religious implications".[1/]

Evidently the non-formal sector of traditional education were strongly rooted in the lifelong education of the individual, and the social and economic institutions as well as the moral and spiritual life of the community. The initiates were helped to understand their community and their roles in their communities better. The educational programmes was reinforced by the community system of belief and code of conduct.

The Colonial Context

Education for the Black Race

Evolution of the Western forms of non-formal education in Kenya was influenced by the attitude of European colonial administrators and missionaries to the ability of black men to get a liberal education and to govern themselves. During the 19th century and early 20th century, European and American scientists advanced the theory that different racial groups were at different stages of evolution.[2/] The white race was the most advanced while the black race was the most backward. A number of physical characteristics such as the shape of the skull, the size of the brain curvity and the coulour of the brain to prove that the whiteman was intellectually superior to the black man. These scientists therefore concluded that the black man could not manage the same kind of education given to whitemen. They recommended that the black man should be given only enough literacy education to enable him to follow industrial and agricultural education.

The notion of industrial and agricultural education for black, the man was first developed in the United States of America to discipline Black Americans to use their hands and eyes accurately to instill in them humility, to promote the virtue of hard work and to prepare black men for their role in life. In contrast, it was claimed that a literacy education would create discontent, suspicion, bitterness and instability among the black people.

1/ Ibid

2/ Sifuna, D.N. Vocational Education in Schools: A Historical Survey of Kenya and Tanzania,, East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1976, pp. 65-73

Colonial administrators and missionaries saw the indigenous people of Kenya as the equivalent of the working class in Europe and the black race of the United States. It was claimed that the African lived in a perpetual state of childhood.[1/]

The District Commissioner for Kitui told the 1919 Education Commission: "For some years to come (the African) must be regarded as a child, as such, not allowed to decide what is best for himself."[2/] The missionaries saw an African as a fallen man who needed to make a fresh start in the evolution process. Meanwhile, there was no need to bother him with the kind of education given to whitemen. He had to be trained to work with his hands, to appreciate the value of hard work and to take his proper position in the colonial situated dominated by European colonialists.

Introduction of Western forms of Education

Christian missionaries introduced western education on the East Coast of Africa in the late 19th century for resettlement of freed slaves who faced risks of re-enslavement, starving to death or losing their lives if they attempted to trace their way back to their places of origin. Missionaries organized them to raise their own food and to establish a self-reliant community. In 1871 a 200 acre settlement scheme was started at Freretown about 10 miles from Mombasa for 300 settlers of whom half were children. The settlers received instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religion and practical skills. The boys were grouped into three categories: (1) those who showed potential for leadership were prepared for the role of preachers and teachers; (2) those with ability to learn skilled jobs were taught carpentry, masonry and blacksmithing; and (3) the rest who showed least ability to learn were taught how to make mats and bags. Girls were mainly taught sewing and gardening.

Subsequently missionaries opened many more stations along the coast as well as in the interior and mounted educational programme modelled on the Freretown Curriculum. In order to make the mission station an effective centre for Christian propaganda, missionaries decided to recruit young children who would be relatively easy to teach and to separate from their homes for long periods. The focus on long term education for children conducted in boarding schools marked the separation of formal education exclusively for children from non-formal education conducted outside the school system.

A number of out-of-school programmes were established by missionaries to run alongside the emerging formal schools. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) established a programme at Maseno consisting of carpentry, blacksmithing and brick making. In conjunction with the CMS the East African Industries started a programme on ploughing and cultivation. In 1911 the church of Scotland based at Kikuyu mounted industrial apprenticeship and training for medical assistants and three night schools for adult men. At the same time the Friends African Mission established a wood industry at Kaimosi. The first government vocational education programme was established in 1907 to train young men in carpentry and joinery.

As the formal education for children was separated from vocational non-formal education, the stigma associated with the latter crystalized and the conflict between the colonialists and the indigenous people of Kenya over what kind of education should be given to Kenyans became severe.

1/ Sifuna, D.N. Vocational Education in Schools: A Historical Survey of Kenya and Tanzania East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1976, pp 63-73

2/ Sheffield, J.R. Education in Kenya: An Historical Study, Teachers College; Columbia University, 1973, pp 17-25

Colonial Policies and Programmes

Evolution of Policy on Non-formal Education

The initial education programmes mounted by missionaries along the Coast of East Africa were non-formal in nature as suggested above. The colonial administrators and missionaries argued that Africans were incapable of following a literary education. In 1909 Frazer who became education advisor to the colonial government recommended that a department of education be established to take responsibility for the education of all races of Kenya. Influenced by the debate on the educability of black people, he recommended industrial and agricultural education for Africans focusing on children.

Educational policy remained static during the 1914-18 war. After the war, the colonial Government appointed a commission to look into the education of the country. The commission mainly collected information from colonial administrators, missionaries and white settlers and recommended, among other things, that the Government should establish village schools which should act as development centres for the communities around them. A village school was intended to educate the community in health, farming and other elements of basic education and social development.

In 1924 the colonial office appointed the Phelps-Stokes Commission to review education in East and Central Africa.[1/] The report of the Phelps Stoke Commission proposed industrial and agricultural education for Africans. The colonial office memorandum of 1925 on education was based on the Phelps Stoke report. The colonial office suggested that industrial and agricultural education was more fitted to the immediate needs and intellectual abilities of the Africans.

The colonial administrators, missionaries and white settlers used the Phelps-Stokes recommendations and the 1925 memorandum to justify separate educational systems for the different races in the country. For Africans, industrial and agricultural education was seen as an inferior educational system. Indeed all the people of Kenya including the colonial administrators, missionaries and white settlers believed that industrial and agricultural education was an inferior alternative to literary education.

1/ Jesse-Jones, Thomas, Education in East Africa. London, Edinbourgh House Press, 1925

2/ HMSO. Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas, CMD. 2374, 1925

Evolution of Modern Non-formal Education Programmes

The educational system proposed by the Phelps-Stoke Commission was intended to retain the African in his community. The educated Africans would act as extension agents, giving guidance to their people in agriculture, home management, principles of good health and general improvement of life in the community. The village school supervised by specially trained all-purpose educators would serve as the development nerve centre for the community in the village. The village school supervisors would be trained at Jeanes school as explained below.

The Jeanes School idea came out of the Phelp-Stoke Commission and we modelled on the Jeanes Industrial Teacher programme found in the United States.[1/] The School was started off with a grant of £37,000 from the Carnegie Foundation of New York. In 1925 the school opened its door to the first fifteen trainees to take a two year course. The curriculum of the school started off with lessons in religious instruction, physical training and games literacy and arithmetic, history, geography, civics and professional techniques in teacher training. Towards the end of the course the curriculum was extended to include art, practice in the supervision of village schools improvement of rural life, village development, methods of extension work, the role of native customs and cooperative philosophy and procedures, Every trainee studied agriculture and worked on an agricultural demonstration plot. The students visisted schools, and organized night schools as part of their training.

All students came to the schools with their wives. The strategy was to acquaint wives with the kind of work their husbands would be doing and at the same time to get some basic education on home management. The trainees and their wives were expected to set up model homes back in their communities. To instill cooperative principles, the school started a cooperative shop in 1927. In the same year, the school started a newspaper as a tool for informing and educating a community. And during the vacations the trainers visited the students back in their home settings.

Community educators trained at the Jeanes School were expected to enlighten their communities on agriculture, health, education and all aspects of development using the village school as their base. In practice the Jeanes teacher was doomed to fail. Most of the teachers Trained by the Jeanes School were protestants and therefore not acceptable to catholic schoots and communities. The protestant missionaries and their own teachers who were better trained on how to handle children. The idea of linking the school and the community was not in harmony with the missionary approach of removing children from the contaminating influence of their communities.

1/ Prosser, R.C. "The Development and Organization of Adult Education in Kenya, with special reference to African Rural Development. 1945-1970" Ph.D. Dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1971. pp 56-83

Government departments were developing their own extension systems with field workers who were more professionally qualified than the Jeanes teachers. In the legislative assembly, which was dominated by white settlers, the Jeanes School came under attack mainly because of the training in civics, cooperative principles and other liberal education aspects of the programme. The African nationalists were indifferent to the Jeanes School programme. They wanted their people to have the same education as the Asian and European communities.

Apart from the village school educator, the Jeanes School introduced some short specialized courses. In 1932 a course for health inspectors was started. The course attracted ten participants with their wives. Attempts to start a course for agricultural instructors during the same year failed mainly because the Agricultural Department was starting its own training programme for extension workers. In 1934 a course for women in home making attracted forty participants.

One of the Jeanes school courses that had impact on the country for a long time was a course for farmers started in 1934. Participants to this course were recruited from all over the country. They had to be farmers who were already making an effort to modernize their farming practices. They were expected after the course to develop a model farm in their communities as a process of extension, or teaching their neighbours by example. The curriculum for this course included religious instruction, working on a demonstration plot, observing the farming practices and lives of the farmers around the school and attending classes on different aspects of crop and animal husbandry.

In 1939 the Jeanes School programmes were suspended and the centre used for war purposes. Meanwhile other non-formal education programmes were evolving under different government departments. The Agricultural Department initiated a training programme for agricultural extension workers. On completion of the programme, the trainees were expected to get employment under local government authorities to work on demonstration farms, production of good seed for their communities and educating farmers. This programme was inhibited by two problems: The people who came forward for training did not have the minimum education required to follow a specialized course. Of the fifty nine (59) instructors trained by 1928 only twenty four (24) were able to obtain employment.

Under the Education Department, a voluntary organization mounted evening continuing classes for the Asian and European communities in Nairobi. The main courses offered were book-keeping, surveying, electrical and mechanical engineering and languages like Latin, French and Kiswahili. Initially elementary courses in English and literacy which would have catered for the Africans were not introduced until 1941.

Continuing education classes were run by a voluntary committee with representatives from Nairobi Municipal Council, the Asian Community, the Kenya Society, the Education Department and the major employment agencies in Nairobi notably the office of the Postmaster General, the Mines Department and the Kenya Uganda Railways. Most of the funding came from Nairobi Municipal Council, but neither Nairobi Municipal authority nor the Education Department wished to be held responsible for the policies of the council which tended to discriminate against the indigenous people of Kenya. An African representative was invited to join the committee in 1945.

The Jeanes School was used to demobilize ex-service men after the end of the war. Ex-Servicemen were trained to become social welfare assistants, probation assistants, British Legion Assistants, school teachers, agricultural instructors, health assistants, clerks and traders using the Jeanes school model of education. The traders course had a wide range of specialized areas which interested ex-servicemen such as transport business, retail trade and a variety of small scale industries like baking.

By 1948 the number of soldiers declined and the centre reverted to civilian use in 1949, starting with a two-months course for farmers.[1/] Participants to this course were recruited from all over the country from among the farmers who had adopted progressive methods of farming. Each farmer had to bring along his wife to get some education on farming and home making. The wives were expected to support their husbands in the field after the course. The main areas of the course curriculum for farmers were agriculture, animal husbandry, management of a small holdings, civics, simple economics, cooperative principles, health education and social development.

During the course, the trainees lived with and learnt about Kenyans from different parts of the country. They made visits to farms and industries around the school and did practical farming on demonstration plots in the school. Instructors followed up their trainees in the field to help them cope with local problems. At the same time, the instructors helped the government extension agents by organizing short field courses for farmers and helping individual farmers cope with specific problems on their farms. Like all earlier Jeans School, programmes, farmers courses ran into difficulties. Coordination of recruitment was difficult as the Jeanes School had to relay on District Officers who did not all believe in the Jeanes School approach. It was not possible to design courses on specific farming problems as the farmers came from regions of the country with different farming practices and needs. There were complaints from the Agricultural Department that the Jeanes School courses were too long for farmers to be away from their homes.

In order to deal with the problem of varying learning needs among the farmers, the school proposed to organize courses on regional basis. The length of the courses was reduced from two months to an average of five weeks. Jeanes Schools teachers stepped up their follow-up programmes to support their farmers trainees and to help farmers in the field deal with special individual problems.

Agricultural Department was opposed to the Jeanes School programme which they saw as interference in agricultural extension by non-professionals. The opposition from the agricultural extension service was summarized in a letter from the District Agricultural Officer as follows:

1. It (the Jeanes School) caters to the whole country and is therefore unable to understand problems particular to any one district.
2. The normal five week courses are too long for farmers to be away from their farms.

1/ Ibid pp. 83-118

3. Its officers do not tour the districts frequently enough to keep pace with current developments.

4. Inclusion of civics and other subjects in a farmers' course is a waste of time.

5. There is no examination at the end of the course.

The officer was out to pick on any excuse to discredit the Jeanes School. Only the second point on the length of the courses had substance in it. All the others were half truths or complete nonsense. Jeanes School teachers made extensive visits to students' homes to learn the problems their trainees encountered in every day life, to organize short need-based field courses and to give assistance to individual farmers. Inclusion of civics in the curriculum might have been unpalatable to a colonial administrator but any knowledge on how government works and who was responsible for what in government was useful to the farmer. The suggestion of an examination for farmers after a short course was ludicrous to say the least.

Traders Courses

Business has virtually replaced cattle as the symbol of wealth and prestige among the indigenous people of Kenya. Ownership of a business building or a running business is the goal of most Kenyans. But many of the businesses in the rural areas hardly break even, and sometimes survive on subsidies from the other sources of income. Usually business is a part-time engagement carried on along side farming and/or paid employment. By 1949 when the Jeanes School reopened, there were no trade officers to help rural businessmen. In 1953, a Department of Trade was established and in 1954 the Government introduced loan schemes for African traders. It was found that the loanees had problems with keeping books of accounts, accounting for personal expenses out of their business, displaying goods and generally controlling their businesses.

The Jeanes School started a course for small scale traders, but had problems in finding a competent teacher who had (1) a good knowledge of the rural environment in Kenya, (2) a knowledge of business studies and (3) could communicate effectively in Kiswahili. The course started in 1956. Participants were recruited through District Commissioners or local government councils. The participants were required to have basic primary education and a working knowledge of Kiswahili. The curriculum consisted of simple accounts, shop management, business methods and arithmetic. The residential trainees at the Jeanes School also benefitted from the liberal education studies conducted on the campus.

As government field administrators and extension agents increased in the countryside, they attempted to give their own short courses lasting one or two days. In addition, the Jeanes School organized shorter courses of one week duration conducted locally using school buildings and other public buildings. Jeans teachers also visited their trainees in their home and trading centres.

The major problem with the traders course was the teaching language. The most successful course was a six weeks course taught in English. By the time the Jeanes School closed in 1961, about 1000 traders had gone through the school.

Cooperative Education

Producer cooperatives emerged in the country as the African farmers started to produce for the market. Initially the members did not understand cooperative principles, officials elected by cooperative societies were ignorant and inefficient and government officers supposed to supervise the new cooperative societies were few and unable to handle all the societies existing let alone those emerging. The government extension officers normally inspected accounts and minutes of meetings only. They did not explain the purpose of cooperative structures and procedures. It seems the government of the day was not committed to the philosophy of the cooperative movement

East African countries, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania agreed in 1951 to establish a school of cooperation near the Jeanes School.
The two schools were separate but they worked together amicably sharing teaching resources and other opportunities and facilities. The school of cooperation introduced along course for government cooperative officers, three weeks course for society secretaries and shopkeepers, a one week course for committee members and two week courses for society secretaries and treasurers. The core curriculum was book-keeping accounts and committee management.

Education for Women

The Jeanes School took a lead in emphasizing the education of women in Kenya. Men who were admitted to a course at the school were required to live on the school campus with their wives.. While the husbands did their specialized course, women learnt domestic science, civics and agriculture. The wives were expected to help their husbands in the field to develop a model home and to perform their work effectively. A wife had to have some idea of the professional specialization of her husband.

From the point of view of the community, education and training for women was not a priority. There were more important tasks to be performed in the home. Besides, no husband or father would risk letting the wife or daughter to live alone in a predominantly male community on the Jeanes School campus. In 1950 the first course of nine women was mounted at the Jeanes School inspite of the cultural obstacles against women education. Participants were selected by District Commissioners and were expected, after the course, to start women clubs in their home areas.

Teaching was done in Kiswahili and the main topics covered were cooking, types of food, childcare scientific farming and mending studies. The women also learnt some civics and other liberal studies. In 1951 women clubs from different parts of the country met and formed a national organization, Maendeleo ya Wanawake (Women Progress Association). For a number of years Maendeleo Association worked under the umbrella of the Government. In 1955 the Association became a member of the Association of Country Women of the world. In 1959 Maendeleo Association was registered as a private organization.

Women clubs increased in number to 986 by 1967. Each club was supposed to have elected leaders. The functions of the clubs were varied with numerous income generating, community service, and cultural activities. The clubs were supervised by a homecraft officer and frequently visited by other government extension workers especially those responsible for agricultural development, health services and community development.

Women clubs leaders were normally trained at Homecraft Training Centres (HTC). Homescraft Training Centres had emerged under the influence of the Jeanes School to provide short courses for women clubs in the field. By 1957 the country had ten HTCs built jointly by local government authorities and the Central Government. Running expenses came from local government authorities and the fees paid by trainees. The language of instruction was Kiswahili and the main courses offered were homecare, cooking, childcare, nutrition, needlework, hygiene, agriculture and civics. The main course for women club leaders lasted three months, and those who wished to get further training were admitted to the Jeanes School programme.

In 1957, Homecraft Training Centre were renamed Community Development Training Centre (CDTC) and their functions expanded to cover the training of both men and women. The two year training course became a course for Community Development Assistants (CDA) while the shorter courses were retained to serve women clubs. The CDTC also offered conference facilities for other courses.

Expansion of the Jeanes School Programme

It was realized from the on set that the Jeanes School could not provide all the training required in extension work and community development. Jeanes School instructors used their vacations visiting their trainees, organizing and running shorter courses in the field and assessing the needs of their potential trainees. In 1953, the Jeanes School proposed to start a second Jeanes School in Western Kenya at Maseno. The building was completed in 1955 with funds from the local authority and in 1956 the school started working. The main clientele were expected to be farmers, traders local leaders and grassroots extension agents. The Jeanes School programme wound up in 1961 and the facilities became training institutions for the Government.

Adult Literacy

Jeanes School teachers included literacy in practically all their programmes. Illiteracy was seen as one of the main obstacles to community development in Kenya. Jeanes School trainees and all community development staff were expected to establish literacy centres in their area of work. A number of literacy classes emerged in isolated rural areas after the war but the colonial government was not keen on the literacy programme.

The strongest literacy programme at that time developed in Meru under a Methodist missionary. The missionary intended to use literacy education as a tool for developing local leaders and making members of the church more self-reliant. The missionary came up against growing apathy, lack of reading materials and government indifference. However, as the nationalist movement gathered momentum in 1950s, the Government started to take an interest in literacy as a possible channel for influencing public opinion

and attempting to counteract the mounting opposition to colonial rule. The Education Department was given the responsibility to register literacy classes as legal organizations in order to function freely during the armed conflict between nationalist freedom fighters and the Colonial Government. In practice, the registration process worked against the literacy programme. Groups were denied registration for being one or two students below the minimum of twenty five students required by the Government or because 100% of the students had not paid up their fees in full before seeking registration.

In this section of the paper, an attempt has been made to review the emerging needs for different programmes of non-formal education in Kenya during the colonial period. The Jeanes School led the way in the development of non-formal education in Kenya starting with programmes for farmers, traders, cooperators, women and illiterate people. Attempts to develop courses in health were unsuccessful, and no attempts were made to design courses for out-of school youth. While the Jeanes School was in existence, youth unemployment was not a serious national problem. The next section will look at the efforts made in the post Independence period to evolve a comprehensive efficient and well coordinated system of non-formal education.

Management of Non-formal Education

Education for Development

In 1963 Kenya became an independent sovereign state. The Government was restructured and expanded to cope with all the affairs of state. Most of the departments which existed in the colonial period became full ministries and were further subdivided into departments. For example, the Ministry of Agriculture was subdivided into two departments of agriculture and veterinary services, and later split further into more specialized divisions responsible for crop production, cash crops, holticultural development, home economics, range management, livestock development, veterinary services and research.

New ministries emerged and developed their own extension and field administration services. Alongside government ministries, a number of existing parastatal organizations were expanded and new ones created to give more specialized services to the country. National and International non-governmental organization also developed their own extension systems to participants in the creation of the "new nation".

During the struggle for independence, the ruling political party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) promised to provide more opportunities for education and control of the economy of the country to indigenous people of Kenya. In 1963 the Government appointed a commission[1/] to survey existing educational resources in the country to advise the Government on the formulation and implementation of national educational policies. The Commission

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1/ Kenya, Report of the Education Commission, Nairobi, Government Printer, Part I, 1964, Part II 1965

recommended expansion and improvement of the quality of both school and out of school education. In 1966 the Government jointly with the University College of Nairobi and the Rockefeller Foundation held a conference to clarify the National Education policies and strategies for rural development. The conference noted that "a more significant contribution to rural development can be made by a much strengthened, more clearly thought-out and effectively co-ordinated educational service to adults, than by alternations in or expansion of the existing system of primary and secondary education".[1/]

Extension Services

Extension in the machinery of government and growth in both governmental and non-governmental development and extension services after independence greatly increased the number of development workers at community level. However, studies of extension services in Kenya and elsewhere in Third World countries suggested that grassroots extension agents were normally poorly trained and poorly rewarded for their work. Extension agents who work side by side at grassroots level rarely communicate with each other and planned their development activities jointly, and the flow of information up and down the extension ladder was slow and disjointed.[2/]

Studies by Ascroft and others in Kenya suggested that tradition extension tended to exacerbate poverty in the country by concentrating government efforts and resources on the progressive minority while virtually neglecting the less progressive majority.[3/] The advancement made by the progressive farmers who make only 2.5% of the farming community in the country would not make a visible impact on the per capita production of the farming community using existing production methods.

If the farming practices of the majority remained static, agricultural production was bound to decline. Methods of farming used efficiently when the population was less dense or was not settled permanently in one place were becoming less efficient with increasing population. Under traditional extension, there were dangers of a majority of the less progressive farmers failing to get the technology required to make their farming more efficient.

1/ Shelffield, J.R. Education, Employment and Rural Development Report of the Kericho (Kenya) Conference: 25th September to 1st October 1966, 1967. p. 23

2/ Leonard, D.K. (Ed) Rural Administration in Kenya: A Critical Appraisal, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1973

Hansel, H. De. Vries, J. and Ndedya, P.C. Agricultural Extension in Ujama Village Development (Papers and Proceedings of a Workshop, Morogoro 1975

3/ Ascroft, J. Roling, N, Kariuki, J. and Chege, F. Extension and the Forgotten Farmer: First Report of a Field Experiment, Wageningen: Afdelingen Voor Social Watenshappen aan Landbouwhogeschool, 1973 Ascroft T. et al "Does Extension Create Pourtry in Kenya" East African Journal, March 1972

A study by the International Labour Office, ILO[1] in 1971 suggested that the food needs of Kenya were growing by 10% per year while production increased by 5% per year. In order to increase the national production of food to cope with the rising demand there was need to evolve a new strategy which would entail redistribution of land, reclamation of unproductive land and efficient use of the land available. A more effective extension system was required to revolutionize land use techniques. The ILO Mission suggested that group and mass education techniques would be more effective than the traditional system which tended to favour the progressive farmers.

Structured Courses and Process of Development

In the previous section we examined the evolution of Jeanes School courses for farmers, traders, cooperators, women and illiterate people. When the Jeanes School programme closed down, the farmers training programme was taken over by the Ministry of Agriculture, By 1966 there were thirty Farmer Training Centres (FTC) in the country and the national development plan proposed that four more centres would be constructed. The aim was to have one FTC in each of the forty districts in the country. The Ministry of Health jointly with the Ministry of Agriculture established a special centre in 1961 to the Ministry of Agriculture established a special centre in 1961 to teach both health and agricultural education, known as the Better Living Institute (BLI).[2] In practice the BLI provided rural development courses like any other FTC. The participation of the Ministry of Health was virtually nil when the Vice-Principal, who was from the Ministry of Health left after only one year of service at the BLI.

In 1961 the Churches decided to help the country to alleviate the efforts of famine in the dry parts of the country and to resettle landless people. After consultation with the Ministry of Agriculture, it was agreed that the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCK) would develop five Rural Training Centres (RTC) on the lines of the Farmers Training Centres.[3] The Ministry of Agriculture offered to provide staff for RTCs while the British Council of Churches provided most of the funds required for capital and recurrent expenditure.

The RTC curriculum was similar to the FTC curriculum. Farmers came in for about a week to learn a specific skill. During the course, they also had opportunities to get lectures on current affairs keeping of accounts and farming in general. The RTC tended to be cheaper to establish and to run and more efficient than FTCs. They were able to run their demonstration farms at a profit.

1/ International Labour Office, Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for increasing production employment in Kenya Geneva, 1972

2/ Prosser, Op. cit, pp. 171-277

3/ Ibid. pp. 177-183

Courses for traders and women were decentralized and based at the district level under the Trade Development Officers (TDO) and Community Development Officer (CDO) respectively. Residential courses were held at the district level normally housed at the CDTC while local courses would take place in school classrooms, churches and other public buildings.

The Cooperative Course remained at the institute which took the buildings of the Jeanes School, the Kenya Institute of Administration (KIA). The cooperative course remained at KIA until the cooperative College of Kenya was established to provide a broad programme of education to the cooperative movement.

Out-of-School Youth

Throughout the colonial period, the few youths who went through the school systems were absorbed into the existing training programmes to become primary school teachers, clerks and artisans. Following the 1939-45 war, there was considerable expansion in primary education with very few openings for youths to proceed to secondary and higher education. At the time of independence, Kenya was faced with a large number of primary school graduates who seemed uprooted from their homes in the rural areas, and yet there were no job openings for them in the urban sector. The primary "school leaver" problem was aggravated by removal of the movement restrictions which had been imposed on the central regions of the country, during the war of independence. The youths who had been restricted in these areas were freed to look for employment in the capital city and elsewhere in the country.

The Government persuaded all employers in the country to take on excess labour. In turn, the Government persuaded trade unions not to ask for wage increases. The Government established the National Youth Service (NYS) to give young people skills as well as to promote in them a sense of nationalism.

These measures could not solve the youth unemployment crisis. The number of youth given employment or absorbed by the National Youth Service was very small.

Meanwhile, the Christian churches evolved the Village Polytechnic (VP) programme to assist the Government grapple with the problem of youth unemployment.[1/] A village polytechnic was intended to be a low cost training programme which provided youths with skills to use local materials to produce services and goods that could be sold within their communities to generate an income on which the youth could live honourably.

1/ Court, D. "Dilemmas of Development: The Village Polytechnic Movement as a shadow System of Education in Kenya" Court, D. and Ghai D. Education Society and Development New Perspectives form Kenya. Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974

All the village polytechnics established in late 1960s and early 1970s were started by churches with Government support. Eventually the Government provided teachers and gradually took over all the financial responsibilities.

As the programme spread throughout the country, the people themselves established VPs for their communities without waiting for churches or the Government to start VPs for them. Community sponsored VPs have also received government support like the church sponsored VPs.

The main courses offered by VPs are carpentry, building, tailoring, motor mechanics, electrical wiring, smithing, various elements of farming and home science, sewing and knitting. The range of courses offered depend on the ability of the sponsor to provide initial equipment and teachers.

Evaluation studies have shown that the VP programme has had some remarkable successes. Some VP graduates have established profitable workers cooperative or individual enterprises while others have acquired employment in industry or government service. The VP has become an important employment agency for VP graduates. Cases of complete unemployment among VP graduates are few.

Continuing Adult Education

The literacy programme in Kenya was under the Ministry of Education towards the end of the colonial period, but literacy programmes were done by community development staff. In 1962, literacy work was transferred to the Department of Community Development. By 1964 it was estimated that there were about 40,000 literacy learners attending 1400 classes. In 1965, the literacy programme once more came under the Ministry of Education along with other programmes of continuing adult education. The Ministry of Education embarked on a plan for a national literacy campaign. In 1967 adult education along with the literacy programme was once more transferred back to the Department of Community Development while the first literacy campaign was in progress. In 1969, an official policy issues clarifying the nature of the campaign. The programme had to be linked to other development programmes especially agriculture, family planning, health, cooperative development, self help and relevant community development projects.

The Division of Adult Education within the Department of Community Development had the responsibility to take adults on a part-time basis through to the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) examination. Eventually an examination for adults equivalent to the school CPE was to be developed.

Higher forms of adult education were linked to the University.[1/] University adult education started in East Africa in 1953 under Makerere College. The first extra-mural class organized by Makerere College in Kenya was conducted in Kisumu town in 1954. In 1956 a full time university representative was sent to Nairobi to start extra-mural work. Alongside the Extra-mural programme, an independent

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1/ Prosser, op cit pp. 290-356

College had been growing up near Nairobi since 1961, the College of Social Studies. In 1963, the University College of Nairobi was established and assigned responsibility for University Adult Education. In 1964 the Extra-mural Department and the College of Social Studies which had been renamed the Adult Studies Centre amalgamated to form the Institute of Adult Studies. In 1967 a radio correspondence course was introduced as the third department of the Institute. The Adult Studies Centre provided residential training for adult educators or trainers, extension workers, front line managers and local leaders. The Extra-mural Division provided public lectures in the main population centres of the country, field training for extension workers, and local leaders, and higher continuing education through part-time classes. The Correspondence Course Unit taught through a combination of three channels: Correspondence materials, electronic media and occasional face to face teaching. The main programme done by the Correspondence Course Unit since inception has been upgrading and inservice training for primary school teachers and adult literacy facilitators.

Coordinators of Non-formal Education Programme

The Board of Adult Education

The rapid growth of adult education programme after independence seemed to call for a body that should coordinate adult education activities in the country. More specifically there was need to advise the Government on formation of new courses and syllabuses, the establishment of residential and non-residential institutions, the use of museum, libraries and media for mass communication, the provision and method of award of scholarships and burseries, the coordination of the adult education programmes of different government Ministries and Departments and the need for new adult education programmes.[1/]

In 1966 the Board of Adult Education was created. The act provided for Adult Education Committees at Provincial and District levels. The functions of the committees were to organize training and refresher courses for literacy teachers, to arrange literacy examinations and tests, to supply reading materials, to guide and advise village committees and to mobilize public support and participation to help attain the objectives of the literacy campaign.

The Board of Adult Education proposed a merger of the FTCs and CDTCs. These institutions originated from the Jeanes School programme. The 1963 Education Commission and the 1966 Agricultural education commission examined the recommendation to merge the FTC and CDTC into one institution to be known as the multi-purpose training centre and neither came out strongly in favour. The case for the proposed merger to form a multi-purpose training centre to be known as the District Development Centre was stated a fresh in the National Development Plan for 1974 to 1978 as follows:

1/ Kenya, The Board of Adult Education Act, 1966 Government Printer, Nairobi, 1966

> The District Development Centres will be multi-purpose centres and will eliminate the existing uneconomic duplication of adult training facilities. They will coordinate training programmes which currently do not support or complement each other; provide better facilities and better qualified instructors; and provide the means for developing an adequate career structure for the training staff. The programmes in these centres will be directly geared to comprehensive and balance development of the districts and will become the focus for all extension work in the district.[1/]

In 1976, the Board of Adult Education published a booklet entitled "Curriculum for District Development Centres" listing the courses to be offered by the proposed centres. Later in the same year, a longer document on the curriculum of the DDC was published listing courses referred to as the standard curriculum. The prospective users of the document were advised that the standard curriculum provided a framework for design of more need-based courses. The document also advised adult educators to time their courses and to select appropriate content carefully in order (1) to take account of the seasonal activities in which the learners may be involved; (2) to draw on the experience of field extension workers as far as possible; and (3) to involve field extension workers and master craftsmen in teaching.[2/]

The main weakness with the DDC is that its objective was to design parcels of knowledge which would be used to solve rural development problems. It seems that researches and development workers in Kenya during the 1960s and 1970s believed that such parcels of knowledge existed and had to be discovered. The search should have been to identify development bottlenecks from which learning needs would be inferred.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper is a compromise between the urge to produce a comprehensive study of non-formal education programmes in Kenya and the need to keep the study short enough for the purpose of a conference. The programmes listed above have been defined in terms of their objectives, contents and clientele.

The paper starts with traditional forms of education which directly or indirectly have a bearing on modern forms of education. Whenever current formal or non-formal education programmes are criticised, one feels that they are judged against traditional forms of education. Often such judgements are superficial. Education is looked at in isolation from the social and economic milieu that determines one's ability to contribute to the improvement of the life of a community and to earn a living honorably within ones immediate environment. Traditional education was in harmony with the traditional social and economic systems.

1/ Kenya, Development Plan for the Period 1974-78, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974. p. 485

2/ Mulusa, T., Structured Courses as a Strategy for Rural Development: A Case Study of the Kenya Farmer Training Centres", Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts 1982. pp. 115-123

When considering the effectiveness of non-formal education as an alternative to formal education, it is important to get a correct view of the system from the point of view of the potential learners. In Kenya, non-formal education programmes, especially for children, have been seen as an inferior alternative to formal education. During the colonial period, industrial and agricultural education was recommended for the indigenous people who had to be trained to accept a subject status in the country. Their colonial masters were given a literacy or academic education to maintain their position at the top of society as the governors.

The Jeanes School approach to community education provided a framework for a strong non-formal education tradition in the country, but it was out of step with the thinking of colonial administrators, the missionaries who controlled education for the indigenous people, and the African nationalists. However, some of the educational activities initiated by the school notably institutional training for farmers, traders, cooperators, women leaders and extension agents have survived and do come into fashion now and then.

Four models of training for rural development emerge out of the Jeanes School Programme. The courses for farmers and traders were given directly to selected clients who were expected to develop model homes and/or production units in their home areas. It was expected that farmers and traders in the field would ultimately learn from the Jeanes School graduates and accordingly improve their homes and production methods. Training the "progressive farmer" as an example for other farmers was later condemned by researchers is 1960s and early 1970s until it went out of fashipn. It has just come back to Kenya as a new model from Israel, and the Ministry of Agriculture is taking it very seriously.

The second model used in training community educators, cooperative agents and women leaders was based on the assumption that the extension worker should be the focus of training, Indeed most government development agencies are based on the assumption that extension workers are the initiators and directors of change.

Thirdly, the Jeanes School attempted institutional decentralization to serve different parts of the country. Decentralization took three forms: (1) new Jeanes Schools were proposed, starting with the Maseno Jeanes School; (2) a network of Homecraft Training Centres was established to serve women groups in different parts of the country, with the Jeanes School Homecraft Training Centre at the top of the network and (3) learners from different regions of the country were recruited to courses run at Nairobi but designed specifically for their regions.

The fourth model which does not come out clearly, and which was not perhaps intended, is giving courses directly to farmers, traders, cooperators, members of women clubs or groups and the illiterate people. The clients are the final goal of any extension message. If they are reached diretly, there are less dangers of delay and distortion of development messages. However, reaching the grassroots directly requires the kinds of resources which most extension services cannot muster.

Coordination and integration of development effort are concepts that puzzle development workers in Kenya. In practice, they see lack of coordination between different government and non-government agencies working in the field on similar or complementary projects. The vertical flow of information within the same development agency is slow and disjointed. The creation of the Board of Adult Education and the multi-purpose training centres was intended to reduce wastage due to poor coordination and integration. The problem was to identify what should be coordinated and integrated.

The paper generates many more points of detail which are not included in the summary: to name only a few of the issues generated, not in any specific order; the value of community education for husband and wife; the importance of learners as a learning resource; the use of demonstration plots, school news papers and cooperative shops as practical experience for non-formal education; follow-up and field visists as curriculum component in non-formal education; observation of real life situation; government red tape in registation and supervision of non-formal education programmes; the place of media in non-formal education; and the problem of frequent reorganization of non-formal education programmes causing disruption to existing programmes.

Over zealous non-formal education experts made the world believe that non-formal education would revolutionize the world in the 1960s and early 1970s. Governments in Third World countries and supportive multilateral and bilateral agencies responded by investing heavily in non-formal education programmes during the past one decade. The development miracle they expected has not been realized. These financiers are now turning away from non-formal education instead of finding out what happened? Were the expectations realistic? Who did the work in the field? and was the programme in the field conducted according to the plan? Such are the changing fashions in education. Like changes in clothes fashions, there is hardly any rational explanation for the present apparent withdrawal from non-formal education.